

The American Observer

A free, virtuous, and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends.—James Monroe

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Scientists Urge U.S. Share Bomb Control

Experts Declare Atom Authority Must Rest with Powerful World Organization

MAY BILL GIVES COMMISSION POWER

Congressional Investigators Warned Destruction of Civilization Result of Wrong Turn

It is no exaggeration to say that the American people will make, within the next few months, the most momentous decision in their national history. They will decide the issue of what they are to do with atomic energy. The issue is already being debated in committees of Congress which are undertaking to work out a method of control. So serious do the nation's leading scientists consider this question that they have demanded to be heard. The testimony they have given is a sober reminder to the people of the terrifying responsibility which has been placed upon their shoulders as a result of the development of atomic energy.

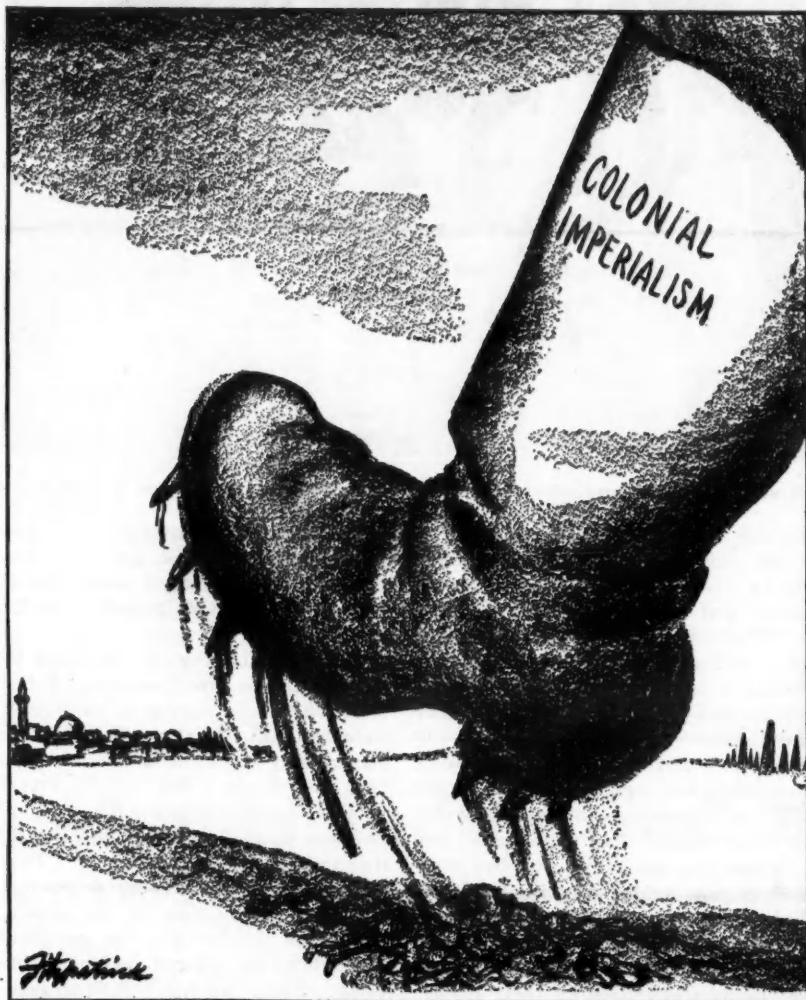
The particular piece of legislation now before Congress is the May-Johnson bill. In the main, this bill carries out the proposals made by President Truman to deal with future control of atomic energy. It calls for the creation of a commission—to be named the Atomic Energy Commission—composed of nine members, to be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. Presumably the members would not be in constant session, for the measure authorized the board to name an administrator and a deputy administrator to handle the executive work. The nine members would receive no salary, but would be paid \$50 a day, plus traveling expenses, when the commission meets.

Sweeping Powers

The powers conferred upon the Atomic Energy Commission by the May-Johnson Act would be the broadest ever bestowed upon a government agency in our history. In effect, the commission would be authorized to do almost anything it deemed necessary to control atomic energy. It could acquire property containing minerals from which atomic power may be developed, or any other property which it regarded as necessary to the program. It is given jurisdiction over all research in the field of atomic power, including activities carried on by universities, private and governmental laboratories, or by individuals.

There is considerable opposition to the May-Johnson bill. Because of the sweeping powers which it would confer upon the commission, many scientists fear that research could be stifled and that the results of scientific developments would become the secret of only a few people. Government would thus establish a dictatorship

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FITZPATRICK IN ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

Unrest Rises Among People in Colonies

Disturbances Now in Southeastern Asia Seen as Warning of Growing Tension

UNITED STATES POLICY EXAMINED

Movement Grows to Give Self-Government to Inhabitants of Overseas Possessions

If a recommendation of President Truman is put into effect by Congress the United States will give to the world an enlightened example of the way to treat colonies. The President, taking note of the fact that many of the Puerto Ricans are discontented with the government we have given them, asks Congress to find out what the people of Puerto Rico want and to grant their wishes.

The President suggests that the Puerto Ricans might decide to elect their own governor, to have dominion status; that is, a government much like that of Canada, relatively free of their mother country, or they might elect to become a state of the American union, or they might choose to become fully independent. The President says that "it is the settled policy of this government to promote the political, social, and economic development of people who have not yet attained full self-government, and eventually to make it possible for them to determine their own form of government."

Colonial Policies

The message continues, "It is our pride that this policy was faithfully pursued in the case of the Philippines. The people of the Philippines determined that they desired political independence and the government of the United States made provision to this effect" (the Philippines are to become independent July 4, 1946).

The United States has few colonies, but its record in dealing with them has been most liberal. The British, the world's greatest colonizers, have a mixed record. They have granted independence to a number of countries, formerly colonies, whose inhabitants were of the white race and who were advanced economically and politically. Canada, South Africa, Eire, Australia, and New Zealand are now independent nations, joined together with the mother country in what is called the British Commonwealth of Nations. They all owe allegiance to the English king, but are otherwise separate nations.

The British appear now to be at the point of granting dominion status to India, giving that country virtual independence. Many difficulties are in the way, for the Indians are divided into a number of religious and other groupings, and they are not agreed among themselves as to what they want. But at least a large degree of independence seems to be on the way.

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The Art of Conversation

By Walter E. Myer

You can tell a great deal about the extent and breadth of one's education by listening to his conversation. If he talks, at least part of the time, on really important subjects, if he discusses public affairs, school or community or national problems, or ideas which have been suggested by his reading, if he carries his conversation into the realms of literature or art, politics or economics; if in his talking he gets away now and then from personalities or little everyday matters, if there is some purpose or direction in his talking—if his conversation measures up to these standards you know that his interests are expanding, his horizon is broadening; and that is a mark of an educated mind.

In saying this I am not suggesting for a moment that all one's conversation should be devoted to serious or important subjects. The normal individual, even if he is well educated, will frequently engage in what is called "small talk." We all talk about our friends and what they are doing, about the little things that are happening before our eyes, about the weather, about matters which call themselves to our attention and which we can discuss without thinking. Such conversations are not carried on for information or ideas but for relaxation and sociability. Some people do not understand this. I know a man who takes light talking of this kind too seriously. If you meet him and say "How are you?" he thinks you mean it, and proceeds to tell you about the state of his health. This fellow is a terrible bore.

Everybody chatters on at times for the same reason that a cat purrs; that is, to express his feelings of friendliness and good will. But a cat doesn't purr all the time, and neither do we need to do it. An intelligent human should not be a perpetual purrer. He should rise now and then to higher levels. We rightfully expect the educated person to engage part of the time in conversation which is enlightening and stimulating. Conversation reflects the content of the mind, and it reveals the broadening interests which schooling should develop.

To be a good conversationalist one must have something to say. No one is more trying than the fellow whose tongue outruns his mind. One acquires ideas by observing, reading, and thinking. He may then express himself forcefully yet agreeably. It is important that he should listen as well as talk. Conversation is a matter of give and take and to converse well one must listen well. Conversation is an art which must be practiced in order to be perfected. It is an art which may well be learned and put to use by students during their school years, one which each individual would do well to cultivate. It is indeed one of the distinguishing marks of true education.

Unrest Grows Among Colonial Peoples

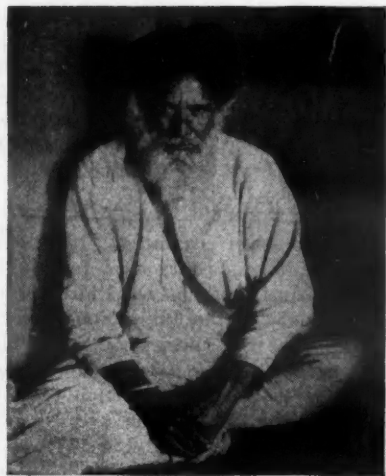
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In many of the British colonies scattered all over the world, however, there is little self-government and not much prospect of it. In most of the colonies the British have built roads, hospitals, schools, and have tried to raise the standard of living. But in nearly all the colonies the people are still miserably poor and cannot be said to be making great progress under British rule.

The other two great colonizing powers are France and the Netherlands, and these countries are now having a great deal of trouble with their colonial possessions. Revolution has broken out in French Indo-China and in the Dutch possession of Java (see page 3).

These revolts in Java and Indo-China are evidences of widespread discontent which prevails throughout southeast Asia. The people of this region complain that they have been held down in poverty, that they are treated as an inferior race, and that they have not been given a chance to grow in self government. Brigadier General Carlos P. Romulo, resident commissioner of the Philippines to the United States, expresses in *Collier's* the feeling of discontent which prevails throughout southeast Asia, with the exception of the Philippines. He says:

"In Java, underground leaders—representing tens of millions of Javanese farmers—were holding midnight meetings in caves and forest hide-outs to organize themselves for freedom.



Native of India

Mass clamor for it in Burma could be heard everywhere—amongst street cleaners, cinnabar miners, boatmen, students, merchants and government officials.

"Also, wherever I went I saw odious distinctions of race that violate human dignities. I saw gentle Burmese women automatically stepping into gutters to make way on sidewalks for white men. I saw Malayan gentlemen barred from British dining rooms and British clubs in Singapore and Penang. I saw professors—graduates of Cambridge and Oxford—refused teaching positions even in primary schools in their own country because they didn't bow low at the approach of a Dutch overseer.

"Everywhere there were pinched brown bodies in filthy sarongs, and faces that had become inhuman with misery. There were no children playing amongst them. Those wretched dwarfed beings sold into economic



Most of Africa is controlled by European powers. Here is a market scene in East Africa

slavery by their starving parents could not be called children. They didn't know how to romp; they had never had the vitality.

"Thus when the lid blew off this pot of seething racial resentment out there, it is easy to understand why white men—everywhere but in the Philippines—were obliged to fight for their lives not only against oncoming Japanese, but against the Malaysians they had treated so contemptuously for so many years."

There is a possibility that the revolutions now under way in Java and Indo-China may be repeated in other colonies; and that the French, Dutch, and English may have a war of considerable proportions on their hands. This would be a bad enough thing of itself, but the most dangerous aspect of the situation is that wars have a way of spreading. If, for example, fighting on a large scale should break out in India, or the Near East, or even in southeast Asia, it is possible that the Russians, who have talked a great deal of freedom for oppressed peoples, might be drawn into the conflict. Then we might have another world war. Such a development is by no means a certainty, but it is a possibility which cannot be ignored.

One disturbing feature of the uprisings in southeast Asia is that, in a way, they are racial conflicts. They are risings of the colored people against the white. This is true of all colonial revolts since colonies, almost without exception, are inhabited by colored people, whereas the parent nations are white.

For a long time there have been rumblings of racial hatred and possible conflict. Throughout modern history, colored people have been dominated by the whites. Usually they have accepted white rule without much complaint. They have been uneducated and industrially backward. They have not had modern weapons of war, and when they have risen against their masters, they have been easily suppressed.

But it is not likely that a situation of that kind will prevail forever. The colored population of the world is considerably greater than the white—about two-thirds of the people of the world are dark-skinned. There are about 700 million whites and the same number of yellow peoples. There are

400 million to 500 million brown peoples, 200 million black, and 50 million red men. The colored population is growing much more rapidly than the white.

Many of the regions occupied by colored people are becoming industrialized, are advancing in the arts of industry and of war. This is true particularly of China and India. It is true to a lesser extent of the brown peoples of southeastern Asia.

These people are now objecting to discriminations against them. They are talking about freeing themselves from the domination of the whites, for white domination has prevailed throughout the colored regions of the earth. Even China, which is an independent nation, has been treated as an inferior by the governments of the white nations.

The problem of colonial control is not an easy one. There are many colonies in which the people are not prepared for self-government. If the colonizing powers should step out suddenly, chaos and disorder would reign and the people would be even worse off than they now are. It should be possible, in most cases, however, for the nations holding colonies gradually to train their subjects for self-rule so that they might eventually enjoy independence. In some cases nations hold on to colonies for purely selfish reasons. Java, for example, is a source of considerable revenue to the Dutch. Citizens of Holland invest money in the island. They own rubber plantations, they have built railroads and factories, and they operate successful businesses. This gives an income to many of the Dutch, and it is an advantage to the Dutch government.

The Dutch also have trade advantages in Java. They are able to sell their products in the island against the competition of other nations, and they buy many raw materials that they need.

Similar advantages are

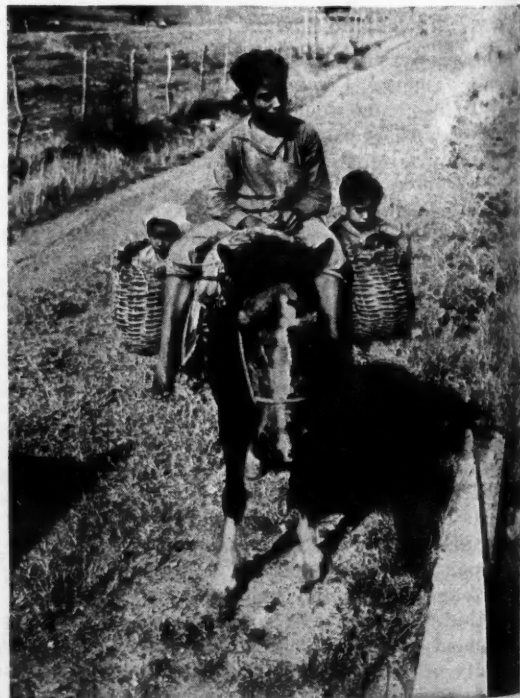
enjoyed by other colonizing nations. These nations have also built military bases in their colonies, which is an advantage to them in time of war.

At a time like this, when hundreds of millions of colonial and colored peoples are seething with unrest and are developing a feeling against the whites, every possible source of irritation among the races should be removed. One of these sources of irritation is of particular interest to the people of the United States, since this country has immigration laws which are an offense against colored populations.

Throughout our history, until 1870, we permitted only white persons to be naturalized as American citizens. In 1870, we added black peoples; that is, persons of African descent. But Asiatic, that is, people of the yellow and brown races, may not be naturalized as citizens of this country. Later we wrote into our immigration laws the provision that no person not eligible for citizenship could migrate to America. This shut off immigration from Asia.

Recently this law has been repealed so far as it affects China. Chinese may now come in under our quota system just as people of European and other nations may. Not many of them, of course, may come because by law we limit the number in a single year to 150,000, and we provide that the number who can come from any one nation depends upon the number from that nation who were here in 1920. Because of this provision, only 105 Chinese can come in a year, but the discrimination is removed so that they no longer need feel that they are treated as inferiors.

There are now bills before Congress to apply to other peoples of Asia—other colored peoples—the same rule which prevails in the case of China. If this law were enacted it would permit the entry into this country of only a handful of Indians and Malaysians, and people of the East Indies. It would not materially affect the immigration situation but it would relieve millions of colored peoples of the feeling that we hold them to be inferior.



Puerto Rican children



LENZ IN CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

The Netherlands Indies and Indo-China

INDO-CHINA and the Netherlands East Indies, now aflame with battle between native nationalists and Allied troops struggling to reinstate their prewar colonial owners, have been fiercely contested prizes for centuries. Extraordinarily rich territories, they have figured in Europe's imperial rivalries since the 16th century.

The East Indies, where the biggest upheavals are taking place, have had a particularly turbulent history. This archipelago, lying between the mainland of southeastern Asia and Australia's northwestern coast, first attracted European attention when travelers like Marco Polo brought back tales of the fabulous Spice Islands. Soon daring explorers had verified their existence, and, by the beginning of the 17th century, Portuguese, Spanish, British, and Dutch traders were competing hotly for their pepper, cinnamon, tea, and coffee.

Rich Empire

Later in the 17th century, the Dutch succeeded in establishing their supremacy over the islands. In acquiring the East Indies, they added to their empire about 735,168 square miles of the most fertile land on the face of the globe. The rich, tropical soil of Indonesia, as the area is sometimes called, yields three crops of rice a year. Besides the spices which grow in abundance, the islands also produce important quantities of teakwood, cocoa, fiber, and kapok.

While the Dutch prized the Indies for these things through the 17th and 18th centuries, it was not until late in the 19th century that they realized their real wealth. Then and in the 20th century, Indonesia became doubly valuable for its tremendous resources of rubber, tin, oil, and cinchona bark. Just before World War

II, the world looked to Java, Sumatra, Celebes, and the other big islands of the group for 37 per cent of its rubber and 91 per cent of the cinchona bark, in the form of quinine, to relieve its malaria sufferers.

The Dutch administered the East Indies much as the other imperial powers administered their colonies. A large part of the richest land was reserved by the colonial government and a major portion of the most valuable resources was quickly cornered by private corporations and individuals. Meanwhile, the enormous native population (now close to 75,000,000, more than seven times that of Holland itself) supported itself by small-scale farming and day labor on Dutch development projects.

Early in the 20th century, the nationalistic aspirations of these people rose to challenge Dutch authority. By 1918, the colonial government was so harassed by nationalist pressures that it granted the Indies a measure of self-rule, authorizing a constitution and the establishment of a People's Council with power to advise the Dutch administration.

But this did not satisfy the nationalists. Noting the amount of independence enjoyed by their northern neighbors in the Philippines and emulating the persistence of their western neighbors in India, they pressed for further concessions. The Dutch granted wider powers to the native population under a new constitution in 1925, but insisted that the Indonesians must have further training in administering themselves before they could hope to wield real power in their government.

Dutch slowness in granting the native people autonomy led to outright violence between 1925 and 1927. A number of anti-Dutch movements had

developed in the period following the First World War. Some of them were purely nationalistic, aiming at political independence. Others, based on the common religious faith of the Indonesian people, looked toward an Asiatic union of Moslem peoples. Together they plagued the Dutch government with strikes, riots, and revolts.

With the rise of Japan, Indonesian nationalists turned against the Dutch still more uncompromisingly. Won by Japan's anti-white propaganda and by her promises of freedom within the framework of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, they were easily incorporated into the new Japanese empire in 1942. At first, Japan did permit the Indonesians some degree of self-government, but, as her fortunes began to wane, she dropped all pretenses of conciliation and exploited the islands ruthlessly.

After Japan's Defeat

Inevitably, the day of Japan's defeat was a day of joy for the people of the East Indies. But, happy as they were to be free of one foreign master, they were determined that they should not return to another. In the transition period which followed the Japanese surrender, Indonesian nationalists organized to resist the return of the Dutch.

At present, they are fighting Allied troops sent to supervise the Japanese withdrawal and arrange for the return of the prewar administration. A provisional republican government has been set up with I. R. Soekarno as its president and Mohammed Hatta as its vice-president. These men, who have been identified with the nationalist cause for 20 years, are holding out for complete political independence. But also fighting the return of the Dutch are primarily religious groups which

have declared a "holy war" for the freedom of all Moslem people. Between them, the various nationalist factions have taken control of large parts of Java, including sections of Batavia, the Indonesian capital, parts of Bali, and parts of the other islands of the archipelago.

As soon as the Indies fell to Japan, the Dutch realized that even when the war should be won, they might have difficulty reestablishing their colonial rule. They began to plan for a new and more liberal type of administration. In 1942, Queen Wilhelmina broadcast her country's promise to the Indonesians that after the war they should enjoy virtually complete autonomy within a Dutch Commonwealth organized along the lines of the British.

While this promise still holds, so far as the Dutch government is concerned, no definite time has been set for the institution of reforms and the nationalists are unwilling to give up their demands. They are particularly resentful of the fact that the British, who have supplied most of the troops used against them, have been using the support of Japanese forces.

The Dutch, for their part, have, up to now, refused to deal with Dr. Soekarno and his provisional government, claiming that they are traitors who collaborated with the Japanese through the war period. They claim, too, that the Soekarno faction has been holding 100,000 Netherlanders as hostages. Dr. Hubertus Van Mook, Lieutenant Governor of the Indies, has said, however, that he is eager to work out some sort of agreement with Indonesian leaders on the basis of Queen Wilhelmina's 1942 pledge.

Unlike the East Indies, Indo-China did not fall under the direct control (Concluded on page 5)

The Story of the Week



CALLING ON PRESIDENT. Members of the United States Supreme Court as they paid their annual visit to the White House. Bottom row, left to right: Chief Justice Harland Fiske Stone, President Truman, Associate Justice Hugo L. Black, and Associate Justice Felix Frankfurter. Second row, left to right: Associate Justices Stanley F. Reed, Harold H. Burton, Wiley Rutledge, Frank Murphy. Top row, left to right: Associate Justice William O. Douglas; Charles E. Cropley, clerk; J. Howard McGrath, solicitor general; Thomas E. Waggaman, marshal; and Attorney General Tom Clark. Associate Justice Robert H. Jackson is in Europe, serving with the War Crimes Commission.

Nazi Roundup

The indictment of 24 Nazi war leaders for "crimes against peace, war crimes, and crimes against humanity" marks the beginning of a kind of international legal action never before attempted. Never before in history have the leaders of a government been called upon to answer for international crimes of similar kind and on a similar scale.

The accused, who include such Nazi notables as Rudolph Hess, Hermann Goering, Hjalmar Schacht, Joachim von Ribbentrop, and Franz von Papen, are charged not only with conspiring to launch aggressive wars in violation of Germany's treaty obligations, but also with committing unpardonable crimes against humanity in their treatment of those who fell into their power. The mass murder of the Jews, the enslavement of all who opposed Nazism, and the mass deportation of hundreds of thousands of people in occupied Europe are among the specific counts against them.

Venezuela's Revolt

The revolution which broke out in Venezuela came as a complete surprise to the outside world. That country, after having been ruled for a long period of time by a tyrannical military dictatorship, has been moving in the direction of democracy in recent years. It has a freely elected Congress and a President chosen by the Congress every five years.

General Medina has been President since 1941, and his term was to have expired in six months. His government has done much for the 4,000,000 Venezuelan people (mostly Spanish and Indian). It has compelled the foreign corporations which own most of the nation's rich oil industry to share more of their profits with the native population. It has built many schools and hospitals, and has raised living standards generally. Also, it has worked closely with the United Nations against the Axis powers.

Despite Medina's record, the army officers—mostly majors or of lower

rank—who staged the revolt claim that they are more democratic than he is. They say that they want the people to be able to elect their President directly instead of having Congress elect him, and that they want the government run by civilians and not by military leaders.

Are these officers and their followers sincere? Do they want more or less democracy in Venezuela? Is this an attempt to wipe out Medina's reform program? Is there any connection between the revolting leaders of Venezuela and the military rulers of Argentina?

We shall learn the full answers to these questions only if the revolting group is successful, for then it can be judged by its acts. As we go to press, the outcome of the conflict is still in doubt, although the rebels appear to be winning.

Peron Scores

Only one thing is fairly clear in Argentina's latest political explosion: Colonel Juan D. Peron, for two years

the country's dictatorial ruler, is not yet out of the picture. Although out of office as vice president, he still retains his hold on the government and on a sizable number of followers.

The anti-Peron forces were close to victory when they forced President Edelmiro Farrell to replace his cabinet with a group of more liberal ministers. Peron himself was taken into custody and power passed momentarily into the hands of General Avalos, War Minister in the new cabinet.

But, as it turned out, the brief and bloodless revolution merely gave Peron a chance to demonstrate his strength. Soon there were huge demonstrations of workers calling for the former vice president's return. President Farrell quickly yielded to pressure by Peron's supporters, promised not to turn the country over to the Supreme Court as had been threatened, and agreed to displace the new cabinet in favor of men nominated by Peron. After a 24-hour general strike, which paralyzed the entire country, Peron was conceded to be in complete control of the country.

He has refused to accept a post in the reconstituted government, saying that he wishes to be out of office while conducting his campaign for the Argentine presidency. At present, his support—drawn chiefly from labor groups he has won by high wages and other benefits—seems so strong that he may continue to wield power for some time.

Lesson in Inflation

The Office of Price Administration recently showed the American people just how inflation would work if price control were lifted now while many commodities are still scarce. A group of OPA officials staged a hoax auction in Jackson, Tennessee, offering such items as automobile tires, lard, and sugar for sale to the highest bidder.

The bidders, all of whom thought the auction was legitimate, quickly showed that they were willing to pay far more than ceiling prices for scarce goods. One man offered \$36 for 100 pounds of sugar—six times the normal market price. Another bid \$15 for 50 pounds of lard. Still others were eager to have the automobile tires at

\$25 and \$30. Finally, a 1946-model Ford car was readily sold at \$2,500.

When the bidding was finished, an OPA official told the crowd that none of the goods were actually for sale but had been offered to show how high prices would rise if there were no controls. He warned: "Many people feel that since the war is over the danger of uncontrolled inflation is past. In fact, the danger is greater now than at any time since the war began. Half the inflation of World War I came after the war was actually over."

He also pointed out that the many countries in which there is no price controls are suffering greatly from



Juan Peron

inflation. In such countries, and in countries where black market operations have broken down the effect of government controls, necessities cost hundreds of times what they should. In many parts of the world at this moment, a loaf of bread costs as much as \$260.

Equal Rights for Women

Within a few days, Congress will once again take up the question of equal rights for women. The question is scheduled to come before the Senate Education and Labor Committee in the form of a bill which would guarantee pay equality with men to all women employed by organizations engaged in interstate commerce. The bill, sponsored by Senators Pepper and Morse, would also give women increased job security by barring employers from firing their women employees in order to hire men.

Legislation of this kind has often come up before Congress in the past. This year, the House and Senate considered a constitutional amendment giving women complete equality of rights with men. More far-reaching than the Pepper-Morse bill, the amendment would, in numerous states, affect women's property rights, divorce proceedings, and many other matters besides wages and working conditions.

Although equal rights legislation has many firm supporters, it is opposed by many women as well as men. Opposition to it stems from the fear that guarantees of equal rights will take away many of the special privileges now accorded women. In many states, for example, women's working conditions are now governed by special health safeguards which are not considered necessary for men. With re-



With the return of peace, Great Britain is launching a drive to boost her exports. Here are crated automobiles being loaded in London for shipment to South Africa.

ward to the Pepper-Morse bill, opposition is rooted in fear that employers may try to avoid paying women equal wages by refusing to hire them at all.

President Truman has always favored equal rights legislation as have such important women's groups as the General Federation of Women's Clubs and the National Federation of Business and Professional Women. While favoring guarantees of equal pay, the major labor organizations oppose any law which would deprive women of special working conditions.

President Damaskinos

Archbishop Damaskinos' recent decision to take over the government of Greece as provisional president emphasizes the profound disunity of his unhappy country. The Archbishop, who has been Regent of Greece since December 30, 1944, stepped in only after eight days of negotiation, during which Greece was without a government, had failed to bring forth any premier acceptable to the country's warring factions.

The latest crisis in Greek politics came when pressure from liberals and partisans of the EAM, Greek resistance movement, had forced out Premier Voulgaris. The chief issue behind Voulgaris' fall was the national elections to be held in January of next year. Liberal sentiment favors postponing the elections until the country is more stable and completely free voting can be guaranteed.

It is expected that Archbishop Damaskinos may be more successful in stabilizing Greece than his predecessors have been. Although he is approved by the British and is moderately acceptable to Greek conservatives, he enjoys great prestige among liberals because of his courageous stand against the Nazis and because of his championing of labor.

FAO Begins Work

The first of seven international agencies born of the war has now begun functioning. With the signing of its charter by representatives of 30 nations about 10 days ago, the United Nations Food and Agriculture

Organization became an officially recognized body. Its members are currently working out detailed plans for improving agricultural standards.

Much of the work to be done by the FAO will be technical. Member nations will pool their scientific skill in attacking such problems as soil conservation, farming methods, and the study of nutrition. It is believed that by introducing the benefits of agricultural science to all parts of the world, real freedom from want can be assured for the earth's entire population, two-thirds of whom have previously lived all their lives without proper nourishment.

Beyond the specific contributions expected from it, the FAO is regarded as important as a test of the way nations can cooperate toward peaceful ends.

For World Federation

The United Nations Organization, planned as the bulwark of peace for the next generation, ran into serious criticism recently when 50 Americans gathered at Dublin, New Hampshire, to discuss the world problems raised by the atomic bomb. The conference, called by former Supreme Court Associate Justice Owen J. Roberts, issued a resolution calling UNO inadequate to meet the threat of war (see page 1).

Instead of UNO, the Dublin conferees feel that the United States should join a world federal government with real authority over its members. The organization they propose would have as its chief instrument a world legislature in which all nations would be represented according to their populations, natural and industrial resources, and world position. There would be also an executive body responsible to the legislature. The legislature would enact international laws governing the use of atomic power and other matters vital to the preservation of peace.

The Dublin resolution urges that the American Constitution be amended to permit our government to surrender some of its powers to the new global government. It advocates either calling a new world constitutional convention or else drastically revising the present United Nations setup.



Javanese girl cutting rice

GALLOWAY

Indies and Indo-China

(Concluded from page 3)

of a foreign power until late in the last century. Like China and Thailand, her neighbors to the north and west respectively, she was a center of European trade rivalries and was forced to grant many concessions to foreign nations. But until the end of the 19th century, when France defeated China in a war over trade rights, Indo-China was a collection of five little kingdoms, nominally independent, though paying tribute to China.

The five kingdoms—Annam, Laos, Cambodia, Cochin China, and Tonkin—were very different in racial composition and customs. All, however, were valuable for their rich land and their abundant resources of rubber, tin, cotton, coal, and rice. The 281,174 square miles of Indo-China which came under French rule a half century ago yielded eight per cent of the world's supply of rice before the war, as well as five per cent of the world's rubber.

Like the Indonesians, the Indo-Chinese have long resented foreign rule. The Annamese, inhabitants of the country's long, curving South China Sea coastline have always been the most independence-minded of the 24,000,000 people of the five kingdoms. In the First World War, France used 140,000 Annamese as troops and workers in her war effort, promising in exchange that Annam should enjoy increased autonomy after the war. This promise spurred Annamese nationalism, and when it was not fulfilled as the Annamese thought it should be dissatisfaction grew.

Throughout the period following World War I changes in the home government of France had produced wide variations of colonial policy in Indo-China. At one time, a native bureaucracy was introduced; a short time afterwards, it was abolished. As colonial administrators were appointed and recalled in rapid succession, economic and political conditions in the colony grew worse, stimulating nationalism still further.

By the 1930's, two strong independence parties—the moderate Viet Nam, or Nationalist Party, and the Communist Viet Ninh—had developed in Annam. Like the Indonesian nationalists, they were attracted by Japanese

propaganda, promising the overthrow of the French administration.

Here again, Japan did start out by permitting considerable native rule under her imperial authority. Finally, in the hope of delaying Allied recapture of her empire, she authorized the Viet Nam to set up an independent Indo-Chinese government. Last spring, a provisional regime was set up under Communist Ho Chin Ninh.

It is this group, together with other Indo-Chinese nationalist factions, which is currently fighting to stave off the French return. At present, nationalist forces hold large sections of the country and are stoutly resisting the efforts of British, French, and Japanese troops to restore order. The Viet Nam has sent appeals to President Truman and Generalissimo Stalin asking representation on the United Nations Advisory Commission for Asiatics.

As in Indonesia, however, the United Nations position is that order must be restored before there can be negotiations on the future status of the country. Individually, Britain and China are both committed to helping the French return. When the nationalist revolts first broke out, the French feared that China might try to extend her authority over the northern sections of Indo-China where her troops were stationed in considerable numbers. But, by a recent agreement among Britain, France, and China, the return of the territory to France has been assured.

If the Indo-Chinese can be induced to give up their demands for complete independence, it is expected that they may look forward to a much larger measure of self-rule than they enjoyed before the war. Early in the Far Eastern conflict, when the Vichy government had surrendered most of Indo-China to Japanese control, General de Gaulle, then head of the Fighting French movement, promised that the colony would be given virtual autonomy under a revised post-war colonial administration. That pledge was repeated by de Gaulle as recently as last August when he visited Washington. The critical months ahead will determine whether the promised concessions will satisfy the natives of Indo-China.



U.S. MARINE CORPS PHOTO FROM ACME

WELCOME TO MARINES. When the first marine division entered the Chinese city of Tientsin to serve as occupation forces, the entire population of the city turned out to greet them.

U. S. Scientists Urge Atomic Control

(Concluded from page 1)

over scientific activities in a broad field.

Opposition is also based upon another ground. With such drastic powers the commission could prevent the use of atomic energy for industrial purposes. How soon it will be possible to harness atomic power to the American industrial machine is a matter of dispute, but there is no dispute about the possibility of such a development. If atomic energy can be used to run industries and turn out more goods of all kinds, the people will benefit. There should be safeguards in the proposed legislation, it is argued, to insure such development, no matter what opposition is raised by

Wilson issued the following warning a few days ago:

"The scientific background necessary to develop an atomic bomb is generally known throughout the world. The technical design and industrial methods of production are at present the secrets of this country, Great Britain, and Canada. However, it is certain that other countries can achieve these ends by independent research, before many years they also may be manufacturing bombs, bombs which may be tens, hundreds, or even thousands of times more powerful than those which caused such devastation at Hiroshima and Nagasaki."

Inasmuch as other nations can—

against each of the large number of possible methods of delivery extremely difficult and uncertain. . . .

"The success of the best possible defense system would, in any event, require a continuous hour by hour alert. A single heavy attack, lasting a matter of minutes, might destroy the ability of a nation to defend itself further.

"One proposal is for this country to try to maintain its present position by producing more and bigger bombs than other countries. Merely having more bombs than other countries is not decisive if another country has enough bombs to demolish our cities and stores of weapons. The over-

that allows for war, since war in the atomic era will destroy civilization."

What do the scientists think should be done in order effectively to control the atomic bomb? While they are not united on specific plans or blueprints, all agree that a world authority must be set up to control this mighty force. The Los Alamos group states: "We are convinced that we are left but one course of action. We must cooperate with the rest of the world in the future development of atomic power, and the use of atomic energy as a weapon must be controlled by a world authority."

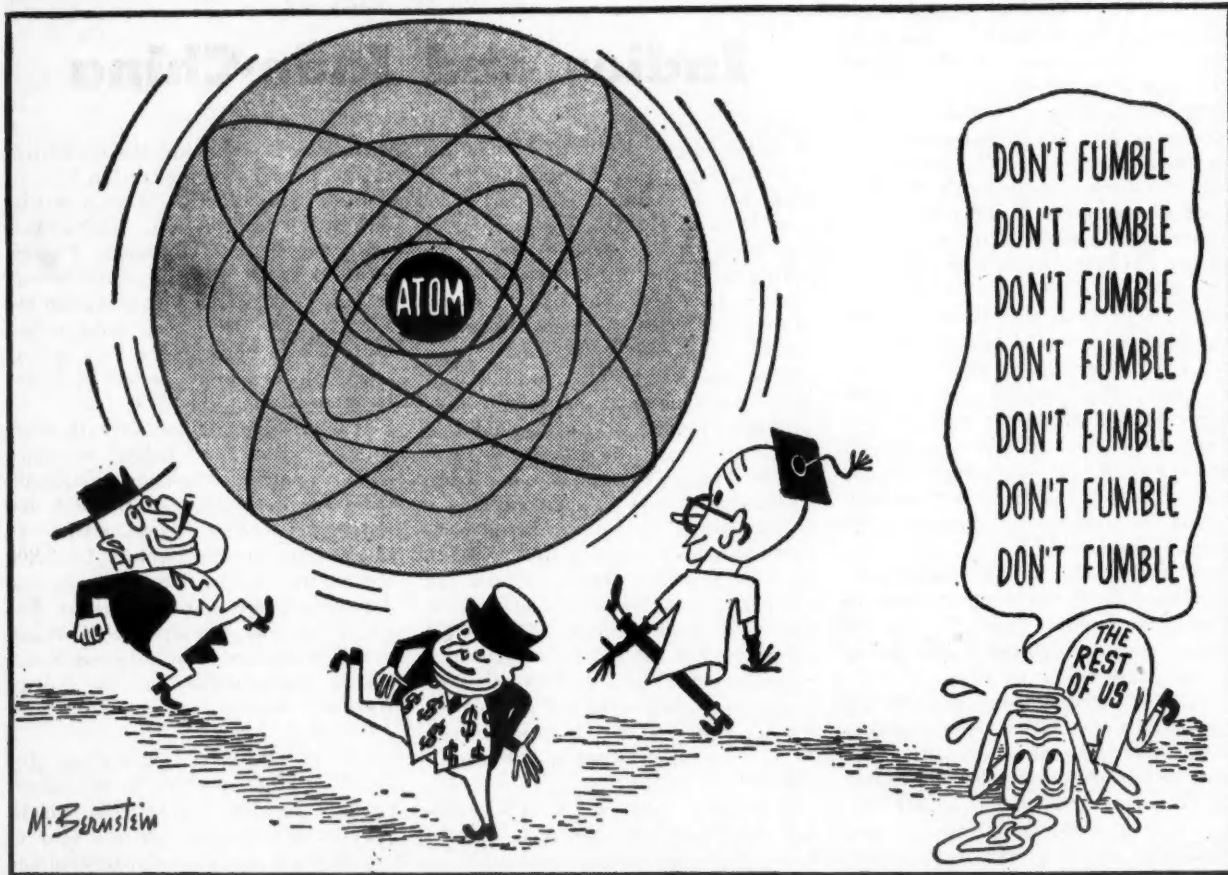
The scientists recognize that the necessary "world authority" cannot be set up without involving the "loss of a large degree of the sovereignty of each nation, including our own." They feel that the United Nations Organization, blueprinted at San Francisco, will prove unable to meet the problem because it does not have the authority to control the atomic bomb or any other weapon. The atomic age has made that structure obsolete, in the opinion of the scientists, and immediate steps should be taken either to modify it or to work out some other international organization. "The people of the United States, together with the peoples of the rest of the world," the scientists solemnly warn, "must demand that their leaders work together to find means of effective international cooperation on atomic power. They must not fail. The alternatives lead to world suicide."

The scientists who made possible the atomic bomb are not the only group now devoting serious attention to this problem. A group composed of some of the nation's leading citizens, met in Dublin, New Hampshire, a few days ago to consider the problem of world government. The group is headed by Owen J. Roberts, former associate justice of the United States Supreme Court. The proposal of this group is that a world federal government be set up with "limited but definite and adequate power to prevent war, including power to control the atomic bomb and other major weapons and to maintain world inspection and police forces."

To make such an organization truly effective, each nation would have to relinquish a part of its sovereignty. The United States could participate only if a constitutional amendment were adopted.

The Atomic Age was ushered in less than four months ago. What ultimate revolutionary changes it will bring no one can now predict. But if the Atomic Age is not to become the age of utter destruction, it must be accompanied by a revolution in thought and action in the field of international relations. The American people must decide how they are to use the great force which has been unleashed. Replying to those who might criticize proposals for a world authority as "visionary," Dr. H. J. Curtis, speaking on behalf of the Association of Oak Ridge Scientists, told a group of senators a few days ago:

"In reply, I will simply state that the possibility of developing atomic energy was also so labeled a scant six years ago, and yet today it is a reality. We can see no reason why a similar miracle cannot be achieved in international relations."



special groups who might be adversely affected.

But it is not so much the peacetime uses of atomic energy or the controls which should be exercised over such uses that have raised the greatest controversy in the halls of Congress and throughout the nation. The important decision to be made is how to control atomic power as a destructive force. Once we have solved that problem, we can deal effectively with the other, it is argued. The scientists whose voices have been heard in recent days all emphasize that fact. In a word, they believe that it is the international phase of the problem which must be faced squarely in the immediate future.

With amazing unanimity, the scientists who worked on the atomic bomb are agreed that some form of international control must be established if the world is to be spared another war. They have emphasized again and again that the secret of the atomic bomb cannot be kept and that if we think we can make ourselves secure by making more and better atomic bombs, we are deluding ourselves. Speaking for the Association of Los Alamos Scientists, an organization of 400 scientists who worked on the atomic bomb, Robert R.

and probably will—produce atomic bombs unless a thorough understanding is reached, the American scientists remind us, we cannot hope to build our national security upon the delusion of secrecy or even superiority of production of atomic bombs. As one group of scientists has put it, if the United States, Great Britain, and Canada expect to protect themselves by keeping a monopoly on the atomic bomb, they can be successful only "by destroying all vestiges of modern science and technology, including scientists, libraries, laboratories, and industries. This must be world-wide to be effective. It means the end of modern civilization."

The scientists who have testified before members of Congress sternly reminded our national legislators that there is little likelihood that effective counter weapons will be developed. Even if such weapons could be invented and produced, their effectiveness, in actual practice, would be doubtful. As Dr. Wilson pointed out in his warning:

"This country, with its highly concentrated industrial centers is particularly vulnerable to such weapons. The fact that the atomic bomb represents such a concentrated form of destructive energy makes counter-measures

whelming advantage will lie with the aggressor and our superiority might be lost in the first minutes of a surprise attack."

Most of the scientists and scientific groups who have been speaking their minds in recent weeks have not confined themselves to warnings about the destructiveness of the atomic bomb or about our own, or any other nation's defenselessness in the face of it. They have taken the further step of recommending definite political action. This in itself is a most unusual procedure. Seldom have experts in the highly specialized physical sciences presumed to offer advice on social, economic, or political issues. And yet the very top-ranking physical scientists of the nation, those who worked on the atomic bomb, have spoken out on this question. As Raymond Swing, in a recent broadcast, pointed out:

"I am not arguing that the scientist, because he can split an atom, also can construct a world organization. The two functions are not comparable, and splitting the atom is in a different dimension of achievement. But a scientist who knows what can be expected from an atomic bomb can tell the statesman that it doesn't make much sense to build a world organization

Plans to Organize U. S. Science

"NO nation can maintain a position of leadership in the world of today unless it develops to the full its scientific and technological resources.

Progress in science cannot depend alone upon brilliant inspiration or sudden flights of genius. . . . The development of atomic energy is a clear-cut indication of what can be accomplished by our universities, industry, and government, working together."

These were among the conclusions which President Truman presented to Congress in a recent message in which he requested that a single federal agency be set up to aid and help to coordinate scientific research in this country. As a result, five different measures, all calling for the promotion of research, are commanding the attention of senators and representatives. Congressional committees are listening to the advice of leading scientists, military men, government officials, and educators who are interested in furthering scientific progress.

Present indications are that final legislation will follow the lines of either the Kilgore or the Magnuson bill. The latter closely adheres to the suggestions made by Dr. Vannevar Bush, Director of the Office of Scientific Research and Development.

Both these bills call for a scientific foundation as an independent government agency; each requires that research be of value in peace as well as for the national defense; and each provides for making information generally available.

During the war unprecedented strides were made in the production of new weapons and new techniques of destruction, largely as a result of the cooperation of scientists and engineers under government direction. Almost unbelievable were the accomplishments in aviation and electronics and many other fields.

In the future many of these developments will certainly be applied to civilian needs. Larger and faster planes will have an important place in air transportation. Radar, the "seeing eye" of war, will be an equally useful "eye" safeguarding planes and ships

in peacetime. These, and dozens of other instruments can serve us in a constructive way if the nations will permit.

While science is pushing ahead on military frontiers, there are other problems which it can help us solve. Heart ailments, cancer, tuberculosis, pneumonia, and other diseases take more lives every year in this country than the nation lost in battle casualties during the entire course of the war. The common cold continues to afflict millions. Infantile paralysis kills and cripples. More scientific planning and teamwork, such as war brought to bear on the approach to using atomic energy, might produce the medicines and treatments needed to prevent and cure many of our ills.

Another great need for a scientific approach to everyday problems exists in the field of housing. Most residential units are built in much the same slow, expensive way that has been employed for centuries. From the laboratory could come better materials and modern methods of construction. The result would be more houses and better houses, for they would be easier and less costly to build.

Fuel substitutes which would replace dwindling supplies of petroleum and coal, man-made materials to take the place of wood and metals, stronger and lighter metal alloys, methods of farming capable of yielding larger crops and finer foods, greater mastery over the secrets of weather—these are merely a few of the countless benefits which science gives promise of bestowing on the world.

Some people may say that we need only be patient, and science will produce its wonders in due time just as it has given us inventions and discoveries in the past, without benefit of government support through specific legislation. The fact is, however, that we cannot afford to rely on the old haphazard way of doing things. People all over the world know that through proper use of the earth's natural resources and thoughtful planning for the use of scientific knowledge, poverty and hunger can be vir-



Scientific research is as important in peace as in war. What role should the government play in stimulating scientific development?

tually eliminated. We now know that it is possible to raise the general standard of living so that vast groups of our people need not be undernourished, poorly clothed, and housed in slums and shacks which are havens for filth and disease.

We can maintain our leadership in peace as we established it in war by making it possible for scientific knowledge to be pooled. We have excellent scientists and good laboratories, but working alone they may not necessarily be equal to the tasks ahead under present conditions.

For one thing, the cost of research has climbed until it is greater than universities and industries can continue to bear alone. Since the benefits will be used for the welfare of all the people, the government can afford to furnish the amounts of money needed to tackle many of the scientific mysteries which are still unsolved. The atomic bomb, for example, would not have been produced during the war without the \$2,500,000,000 of government funds invested.

The importance of teamwork—the kind of cooperation which produced the atom bomb—cannot be minimized. Although scientists do not want government dictation on research, they believe that more planning can bring about a greater cooperative effort and that results will come at a swifter pace. Cancer, for example, might be conquered more quickly if groups of scientists were working under a single plan.

Finally, the nation needs more scientists. The war kept some 150,000 students from receiving the scientific training which they would have had under peacetime conditions. Many authorities insist that something must be done to overcome this shortage and to aid in the continuous development of more scientists. Because scientific education is costly, it is suggested that the government should furnish money for the training of especially promising students.

According to the Magnuson bill

which contains Dr. Bush's recommendations, the government would spend about \$122,500,000 a year on science. Much of the money would be turned over to the support of university laboratories, medical schools, and other research groups. Some would be spent on college scholarships for 6,300 science students every year. A National Research Foundation—a peacetime "high command"—would be set up to take charge of the program. The United States would also plan to exchange scientific information with other nations.

On the whole, support for the plan is widespread, although many details remain to be worked out. Scientists, for example, want to make sure that the program is under scientific and not political control. They also hope that, while there is planning and cooperation, there will be scientific freedom. They point to the fact that some of our most important discoveries have been made by individuals who are delving into the mysteries of nature merely to satisfy their scientific curiosity.

Although the matter of national pride in scientific achievements enters into the picture, most of our well-known scientists who favor government planning in the field do not put primary emphasis on the importance of leading the field in a race for acquisition of scientific knowledge. They hope that in the future there will be a world-wide exchange of information which will be of benefit to people of all lands.

We cannot fail to recognize the fact that science creates problems even as it solves others. Nothing could prove that more effectively than a look at the dilemma we find ourselves in with regard to the atomic bomb. (See page 1 of this issue.) The nation must remember that scientific progress alone will not produce a better land and a better world. If the benefits of science are really to serve us, we shall need to use them with wisdom, restraint, and true regard for all men.

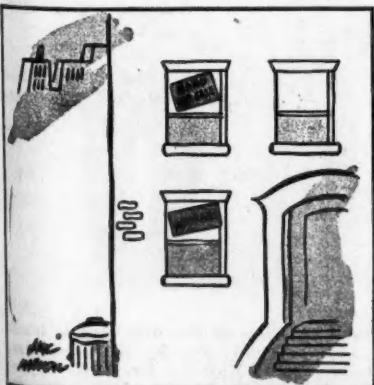
SMILES

Teacher (giving lesson on the law of gravity): I want you all to understand that it is the law of gravity that keeps us on earth.

Jimmy: How did we stay on earth before the law was passed?

Joe (arguing with friend): Listen, I'm right. I ought to know. Don't I go to school, stupid?

Jack: Yes, and you come home the same way.



MARKOW IN SATURDAY EVENING POST

Teacher: The plural of man is men. Now, Henry—what is the plural of child?

Henry: Twins.

Aunt Ellen: This picture is two hundred years old and is worth \$10,000.

Elbert: Just imagine how much it would cost if it were new.

Doctor: Smith, you need to stop thinking about yourself and throw yourself into your work.

Smith: Hold on, Doctor. I'm a concrete mixer.

Mother: Junior, have you learned to count at school? What figure comes after 1?

Junior: All of 'em.

Jack: What would you do if you were in my shoes?

Jill: Polish 'em.

Doctor (to co-ed): What is the most you ever weighed?

Co-ed: One hundred and twenty pounds.

Doctor: And the least?

Co-ed: Five pounds, six ounces.

Suggested Study Guide for Student

Atomic Control

1. Briefly state the main provisions of the May-Johnson bill now before Congress.

2. What are two criticisms which are made against this measure?

3. Why, according to the atomic-bomb scientists, will our country not be safe merely by producing more and better bombs than those of other nations?

4. Why do these scientists feel that our country would be particularly vulnerable to atomic-bomb attacks?

5. What, in the opinion of most scientists, should be done to control the atomic bomb?

6. Why is it considered so important that the scientists have united for action in dealing with this question?

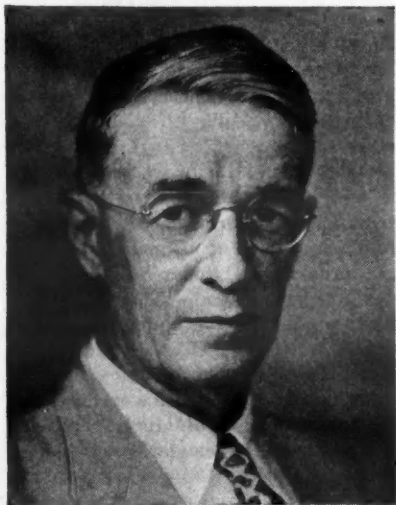
Discussion

After testing your factual knowledge of the atomic article in this paper, you should engage in some thinking and discussion on the subject. Here are some questions which will serve as a guide in this connection:

Do you feel that your friends and acquaintances are fully aware of the dangers involved in living in the Atomic Age?

To what extent do you think that the American people should rely upon the views of scientists with respect to the atomic-bomb question? To what extent do you think they should rely upon the opinions of their political and military leaders?

On the basis of your present information, would you favor or oppose



Dr. Vannevar Bush

Director, Office of Scientific Research and Development

a world agency stronger than the present United Nations Organization? In considering this question, remember that we would have to give up our sovereign rights of dealing with other nations as we see fit. For example, the organization would lay down rules for the development of atomic power, rules which no nation could violate. Explain your position.

Reading

For further reading material on this subject, we recommend the following magazine articles and pamphlets: "Modern Man Is Obsolete," by Norman Cousins, *Saturday Review of Literature*, August 18. A challenging article on the necessity of man's adapting his thinking to the Atomic Age if he is not to perish.



The colonial peoples of the world are becoming restive. Above, inhabitants of Calcutta, India, are shown attending a political meeting.

"The Bomb Is No Secret," *New Republic*, October 8. A good statement of the views which have been expressed by atomic-bomb scientists.

"The Blast that Shook the World," *Reader's Digest*, October. A group of short articles in which four prominent leaders, including Winston Churchill, tell what they think about the future of atomic energy.

"Atomic Force; Its Meaning for Mankind." This is a pamphlet based on a radio discussion by the University of Chicago Round Table. Three leading educators express their opinions. A copy of this discussion may be obtained by sending 10¢ to the University of Chicago Round Table, Chicago, Illinois. The pamphlet is No. 386.

Action

We again urge our readers to express their views publicly after they have studied this question. In addition to discussions with your friends, write to newspaper editors, to members of Congress from your state, to Secretary of State Byrnes, and to President Truman. Just make sure that you are thoroughly familiar with both sides of the question before forming and expressing your opinions. For one thing, you might read over again the pro-and-con article which appeared in *THE AMERICAN OBSERVER*, October 22.

Colonies

1. Explain why the independence movement in southeastern Asia has grown as a result of the war.

2. What are some of the complaints of the people of this region against colonial rule?

3. What are some of the benefits which nations derive from their colonies?

4. What connection is there between revolting colonists and the rising of colored peoples?

5. What proportion of the world's population is colored?

6. What are the three leading colonial powers?

7. How has our policy in the Philippines compared with the policy of other nations in dealing with colonies?

8. Why do many Americans feel that we must take the leadership in promoting increased freedom for colonial peoples?

Discussion

What do you think should be the policy of the United States toward

the colonial problem? Do you feel that we should not interfere with the affairs of colonial powers; that we are doing enough by setting a good example in freeing the Philippines and in offering the Puerto Ricans self-rule if they so desire?

What if England, France, and the Netherlands do not follow our example and give their colonial peoples greater freedom? What if their refusal to do so leads to widespread revolts and uprisings? What, if anything, do you think we should do in that event?

The British, French, and Dutch say that we would not be so willing to give up our colonial possessions if these were as important to us as their colonies are to them. What do you think about this?

It is often said by critics of colonial powers that they have the same feeling of superiority toward their subject peoples as the Nazis had toward "inferior" races. Do you feel that this criticism is justified?

Reading

"Asia Must Be Free," by Brigadier General Carlos Romulo, *Collier's*, October 20.

"Independence for Colonial Asia," by L. K. Rosinger, *Foreign Policy Reports*, February 1.

"Native Self-Government," by M. J.

Herskovits, *Foreign Affairs*, 1944.

"America's Plan for the World," *American Mercury*,

Miscellaneous

1. Who are the Indonesians?

2. Tell something of the Dutch rule in the East and French rule in Indo-China.

3. Outline the provisions of the resolutions now before Congress for scientific research and development.

4. Who is Dr. Vannevar Bush?

5. What resolution was adopted at the conference recently held in New Hampshire?

6. What will be some of the recommendations of the United Nations Agriculture Organization?

7. What are the principal arguments in favor of legislation to give women equal rights? What are the main arguments against it?

Pronunciations

Avalos—ah-vah-loes
Cochin—koe'chin
Damaskinos—dah-mah-skee
Eire—eh'reh
Edelmirro Farrell—eh-del-mir-ro
Hermann Goering—hair'man
—u as in burn
Laos—lah'oes
Franz von Papen—frahn's f
Joachim von Ribbentrop—foh'n rib'en-trop
Hjalmar Schacht—hyahl'm
Voulgaris—vool'gah-rees



Here are some of the scientists who directed the explosion of the first atomic bomb in the wastelands of New Mexico last July. Left to right: Dr. K. T. Harvard University; Dr. Joseph G. Hoffman, University of Buffalo; Dr. J. heimer, University of California; Dr. Luis Hemelmann, Washington University; Dr. W. F. Weisskoff, University of Rochester; Dr. R. Bacher, University of California; Dr. Richard Dodson, California Tech.